

How Gabriel Harvey read tragedy*

TANIA DEMETRIOU 

HARVEY'S COMPOSITE COLLECTION

The Folger Shakespeare Library holds what was once Gabriel Harvey's copy of two tragedies by the Italian dramatist and vernaculariser of the classics Lodovico Dolce.¹ It comprises Dolce's *Medea* and *Thieste*, adapted from Euripides and Seneca respectively. The volume contains few actual comments on the classical tragedies Harvey was reading in translation. Nevertheless, when looked at carefully, it reveals a great deal about the morphology of Harvey's tragic reading. Furthermore, the eventful story of its survival opens a window onto the role of serendipity in our understanding of how early moderns read their classical books. When Henry Folger bought these works, they were encased in an eighteenth-century calf binding from which other texts had been removed. It bore the title *Tragedie di Ludovico Dolce*, leading those who rebound that imperfect item into its current shape in 1946 to conclude that the two plays were what remained of a larger collection of tragedies by the same author.² A close look at Harvey's scribbblings on the verso of the *Medea* title-page (Fig. 1), however, tells us something different: when Harvey owned them, the Dolce translations were bound with versions of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia* by a different translator. Far from missing-presumed-lost, these two dramas, in Erasmus' Latin, and complete with annotations by Harvey and textual markings very similar to those peppering the Dolce, are extant in

*I am grateful to Charles Martindale, Carla Suthren, and Matthew Reynolds for reading previous drafts of this piece, to Katherine Heavey for the occasion that inspired it, and to Rachel Dankert, Emily Walhout, and Stephen Tabor for communicating with me about Harvey holdings in various libraries. A generous grant by the Parry Dutton Fund made possible a crucial research visit to the Folger Shakespeare Library. Unless otherwise specified, English translations are mine, and references to classical texts are from the editions in the digital Loeb Classical Library (accessed 23 January 2021).

¹ Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, PQ4621.D3 M4 1566a Cage (= Lodovico Dolce, *Medea Tragedia* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566); Lodovico Dolce, *Thieste Tragedia* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566)); hereafter GH Dolce.

² This information comes from a typescript note pasted in at the back. The *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700* (hereafter *CELM*) likewise suggests that two unaccounted-for tragedies were once part of this volume (*HvG 65), identifying them as a *Hecuba* and an *Iphigenia*.

© 2021 The Authors. *Renaissance Studies* published by Society for Renaissance Studies and John Wiley & Sons Ltd

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

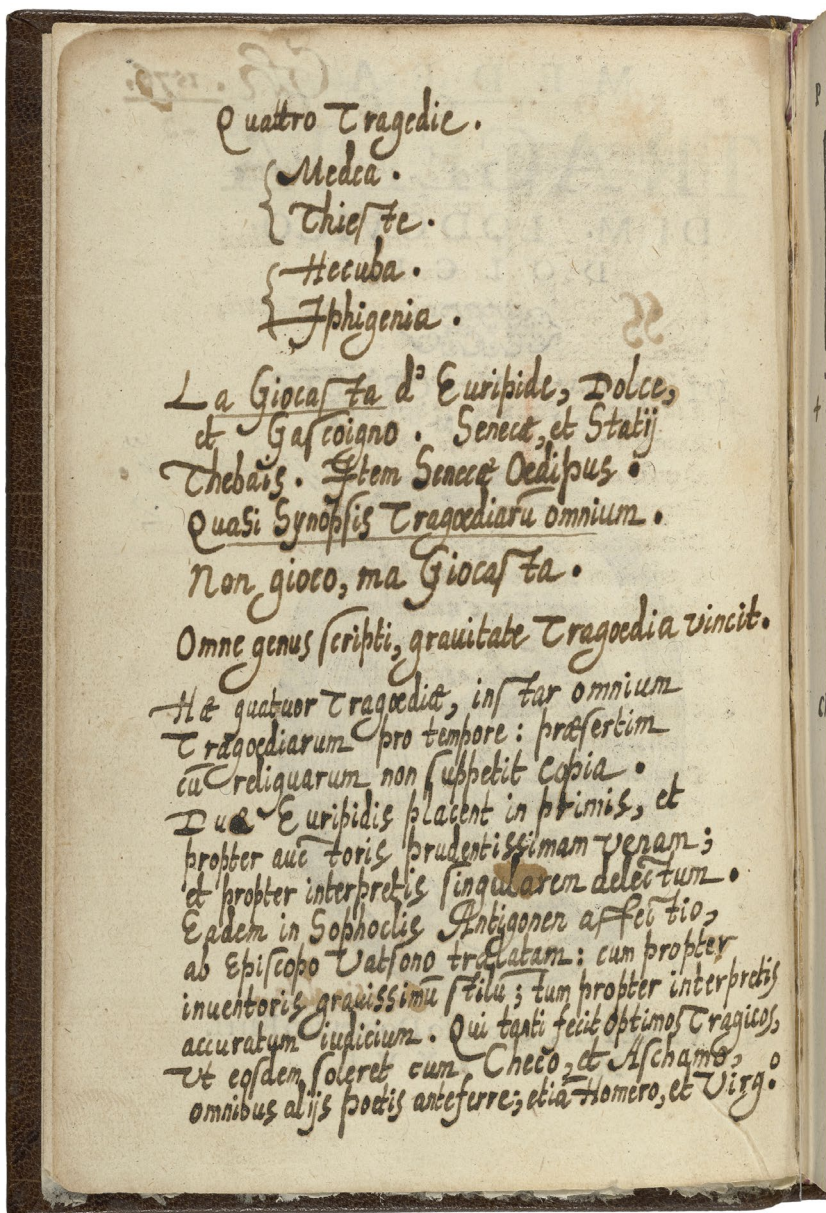


Fig. 1 Verso of title-page of Harvey's copy of Dolce's *Medea*: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, shelfmark PQ4621.D3 M4 1566a Cage, [1]v (used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License).

another volume now in the Houghton library.³ These ‘Quattro Tragedie’ (‘Four tragedies’), as Harvey refers to them, were bound together in a composite volume or *Sammelband*. Harvey read and annotated them as a collection. This material fact impinges on what conclusions we draw about his reading of classical tragedy.

We can glean more information about the morphology of Harvey’s tragic reading thanks to the nineteenth-century bibliophile, literary scholar, and antiquarian Samuel Weller Singer (1783–1858). In 1851, Singer edited and published a set of marginalia in *Notes and Queries*, from what he described as ‘some miscellaneous volumes’ belonging to Harvey, which had once been in ‘the library of Mr Lloyd, of Wygfair’, and which he believed had ‘passed into the collection of Mr Heber’.⁴ Though he talked about these books in the plural, Singer treated them as a collection, and his readers understood that he was referring to a *Sammelband* for one of them sent him information about another such Harvey volume.⁵ The marginalia are from Harvey’s Dolce and Euripides, but also from two additional volumes: an Italian grammar and an edition of Terence’s comedies in Italian translation. These, as it turns out, also survive, in the Huntington and Houghton libraries respectively.⁶ Table 1 lists all four books, with their current location and information on provenance. All bear Harvey’s signature and the date 1579, but the signature and date corresponding to the Terence were inscribed after the *Sammelband* was put together, on the verso of the grammar’s last page, and so they are now severed from the Terence.⁷ Singer must have suspected the *Sammelband* was likely to come loose when he transcribed the annotations. The dramatic narrations of Thomas Frognall Dibdin show that, in the bibliomaniac world familiar to Singer, much excitement and money could arise from dividing such nonce collections and selling their individual parts, lavishly bound, at a profit.⁸ The item he saw was indeed part of Heber’s library and sold in 1835; by 1867, it had been taken apart, for the grammar belonged to Samuel Christie-Miller as a standalone

³ Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, EC.H2623.Zz507e (= Euripides, *Hecuba*, & *Iphigenia in Aulide* ... *Erasmus Roterodamo interprete* (Venice: Aldus, [1507])). See CELM *HvG 75. Hereafter GH Euripides.

⁴ S. W. Singer, ‘Notes on Books No. II – Gabriel Harvey’, *Notes and Queries*, 4.97 (1851), 169–71. See *Bibliotheca Lloydiana. A catalogue of the entire library ... of John Lloyd*, (Denbigh: Thomas Gee, 1815): they may have been part of no. 420: ‘Various Classics and School Books, twelve in each Lot.’

⁵ Thomas W. Jones’ letter to Singer survives as part of London, Senate House Library, MS 289, which also contains an undated transcription of the Harvey marginalia by Singer. Jones’ *Sammelband* is now dispersed.

⁶ San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, 62184 (= Scipione Lentulo, *An Italian Grammar ... turned in English* by H.G. (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575)) and Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, *EC.H2623.Zz546t (=Terence, *Le comedie di Terentio volgari* (Venice: Heirs of Aldus, 1546)). See CELM *HvG 94 (reported as untraced) and *HvG 160. Hereafter GH Lentulo and GH Terence.

⁷ GH Euripides, GH Dolce, GH Lentulo, title-pages, and GH Lentulo, sig. Liiv.

⁸ See Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, 3 vols (London: W. Bulmer and co. Shakespeare Press, 1817), III, 56n, 59n–60n, 60–1 and Alexandra Gillespie, ‘Poets, Printers, and Early English Sammelbände’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 189–214, 189–90.

Table 1: The volumes in Harvey's *Sammelband*

Books as they appeared in Harvey's <i>Sammelband</i>	Current location	Information about provenance
Scipione Lentulo, <i>An Italian Grammar ... turned in English by H.G.</i> (London: Thomas Vautrollet, 1575)	The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA 62184	The last book in the composite volume that belonged to Heber until 1835 (see note 9). A separate item by 1867, when it was collated by Samuel Christie-Miller. Sold on 2 April 1924 for £100 as part of the Britwell library, probably to Henry and Arabella Huntington (<i>The Britwell Handlist</i> (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933)).
Terence, <i>Le comédie di Terentio volgari</i> (Venice: Heirs of Aldus, 1546)	Houghton Library, Harvard University *EC. H2623.Zz546t	Not in Heber's volume. As a standalone book, it passed into the possession of S. Ogle in 1858 and was still in the Ogle family in 1909. Bought by Frank Brewer Bemis at some point before 12 April 1934, when he donated it to Harvard.
Lodovico Dolce, <i>Medea Tragedia</i> (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566) & <i>Thieste Tragedia</i> (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566)	Folger Shakespeare Library, PQ4621. D3 M4 1566a Cage	The first item in Heber's volume. Bought by Folger in 1905 at Arthur Reader's sale of books 'from several private libraries' (cat. 362; no. 307; £7 7s), as a single item in an eighteenth-century calf binding from which others had been removed.
Euripides, <i>Heceuba</i> , & <i>Iphigenia in Aulide ... Erasmo Roterdamo interprete</i> (Venice: Aldus, [1507])	Houghton Library, Harvard University, *EC. H2623.Zz507e	Owned by various people prior to Harvey, including 'Theodore Bersyll', 'gou[er]ner [James] Lord Hamilton Erle of Arran', and 'Jhon Caru[er] otherwise called Lucas'. Includes a cast-list for a performance of Plautus' <i>Poenulus</i> and Euripides' <i>Heceuba</i> by the same group, perhaps at Earlsbury Manor 'in the lordship of Edgware'. This is pre-1579 since it is annotated by Harvey. The second item in Heber's volume. Part of P.M. Pittar's library, sold by Sotheby's on 5 November 1918 (Lot 314), when it was bound, as now, in a fifteenth-century vellum manuscript with a morocco pull-off case. Sold again by James Tregaskis in October 1922 (<i>Caxton Head Cat.</i> 859; no. 141; £105). Frank Brewer Bemis donated it to Harvard on 25 April 1935.

volume at this point.⁹ But Heber's composite volume was already different from the one Harvey owned. The sale catalogue shows that the Terence had been removed from it, explaining why Singer's information about this book came solely from the stray leaf in the grammar. In this interim state, the collection consisted of the Dolce, followed by the Euripides, and then the grammar; the old, oversize eighteenth-century calf binding of the Folger Dolce, carelessly inscribed *Tragedie di Ludovico Dolce*, must have belonged to the book in this state.

Singer describes the annotations as 'showing the attention paid by the learned students of this time to *the drama*, as well ancient as modern'. The implication is that they do this taken together rather than individually. Certainly, the *Sammelband's* full list of contents presents another important twist in the excavation of Harvey's encounter with classical tragedy at this time: it was entwined somehow with his reading in Italian. Harvey, as Chris Stamatakis shows, 'actively cultivated an interest in Italian literature over the 1570s' and threw himself into learning the language in the late 1570s and early 1580s.¹⁰ In doing this, he was following what Warren Boutcher has called 'an alternative humanistic curriculum' centred on the modern languages and 'geared for social and political success'.¹¹ The year 1579 was crucial from this perspective. In July 1578, the Queen was at Audley End, near his native Saffron Walden. It was here that Harvey, whose sights were set on an active career outside the university, was given hope of being chosen for foreign service based on his Italian credentials. His all-out bid for patronage in the form of four manuscripts of Latin poems offered to her Majesty was rewarded with permission to kiss her right hand. This was apparently followed by a conversation between her and the Earl of Leicester that Harvey immortalised in Latin verse:

... Dic, Hunccine in oras

Italicas, Francasque tibi transmittere certum est?

Certum, inquit Dominus; benè factum, Iam iam habet ille

Vultum Itali, faciemque hominis: vix esse Britannum

Crediderim, potiusque hospes quidam esse videtur.

⁹ *Bibliotheca Heberiana: Catalogue of the Library of the late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the Sixth* ([London]: W. Nicol, 1835), no. 971: 'Medea e Thieste, Venet. 1566. Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia, Erasmo interprete, Aldus 1507. Lentelle's Italian Grammer, by H. Grantham, Lond. 1575, in 1 vol. with Gabriel Harvey's autograph and notes.' A note on a fly-leaf of GH Lentulo says that it was collated by Christie-Miller in 1867.

¹⁰ Chris Stamatakis, 'With diligent studie, but sportingly': How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* [online], 2013: <<http://northernrenaissance.org/http://www.northernrenaissance.org/with-diligent-studie-but-sportingly-how-gabriel-harvey-read-his-castiglione/>> (accessed 23 January 2021), 7.

¹¹ Warren Boutcher, 'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence': New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c.1547 to c.1625', *Reformation*, 21 (1997), 39–109, 51.

(‘Tell me, are you resolved to send this man to Italian and French shores?’ ‘Resolved’, said my Lord. ‘You have done well. He already has the face and look of an Italian man; I would scarcely believe him to be a Briton, he seems rather like some foreign visitor.’)¹²

This poem, ‘On the kissing of the royal hand; and on the most excellent monarch’s remark that I had the appearance of an Italian’, was printed shortly afterwards in *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, together with those Harvey had presented during the progress. The volume, presented to the Queen in mid-September, also featured new contributions by Italians, attesting that Harvey’s ‘poetic style [was] worthy of an Italian mind’ (‘vena ... Digna cerebro/ Italico’) and that he was ‘an English Italian, an Italian in all but birth’ (‘Anglus Italus: solam excipe gentem./ Est merus ille Italus’).¹³ Years later, Thomas Nashe had a field day describing the effect of Elizabeth’s comment on Harvey at this time: he ‘quite renounst his naturall English accents & gestures, & wrested himself wholly to the Italian *punttilios*, speaking our homely Iland tongue strangely, as if he were but a raw practitioner in it, & but ten daies before had entertained a schoole master to teach him to pronounce it.’¹⁴ When he made the composite collection, Harvey was apparently honing his Italian skills with more verve than ever. His acquisition of the language, writes Stamatakis, was ‘closely bound up with his interest in artful, witty conversation’.¹⁵ This appears to have merged with and enhanced his interest in ‘drama, as well ancient as modern’.

In Harvey’s *Sammelband* it was the grammar that was the first item. Its title-page lays out the collection’s rationale and contents (Fig. 2): ‘Axiophili prima ars Linguae Italicae. Grammatica. Comoediae. Tragoediae.’ (‘Axiophilus’ [i.e. Harvey’s] first instruction in the Italian language. Grammar. Comedies. Tragedies.’)¹⁶ Thus, after the grammar came Terence’s comedies, and then the ‘four tragedies’ by Dolce and Euripides. On the grammar’s last page, Harvey writes, in the manner of an editor: ‘No finer, or pithier Examples then in the Excellent Comedies, and Tragedies following; full of sweet & wise Discourse. A notable Dictionarie, for the Grammer’.¹⁷ We know that he had already been reading other drama in Italian. Harvey treated a series of blank pages in the preliminary gathering of his Euripides as notebook space and here, he noted that he owned, had read, or intended to read various comedies and tragedies by his favourite Pietro Aretino and by Niccolò Machiavelli.¹⁸ He

¹² John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, eds E. Goldring et al., 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II, 596; translation based on Victoria Moul’s, which appears on page 660.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 602, 603.

¹⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron Walden* (London: John Danter, 1596), sig. M2v.

¹⁵ Stamatakis, 12–14.

¹⁶ GH Lentulo, sig. [*i]r.

¹⁷ GH Lentulo, sig. Liiv.

¹⁸ GH Euripides, sig. πvii^f.

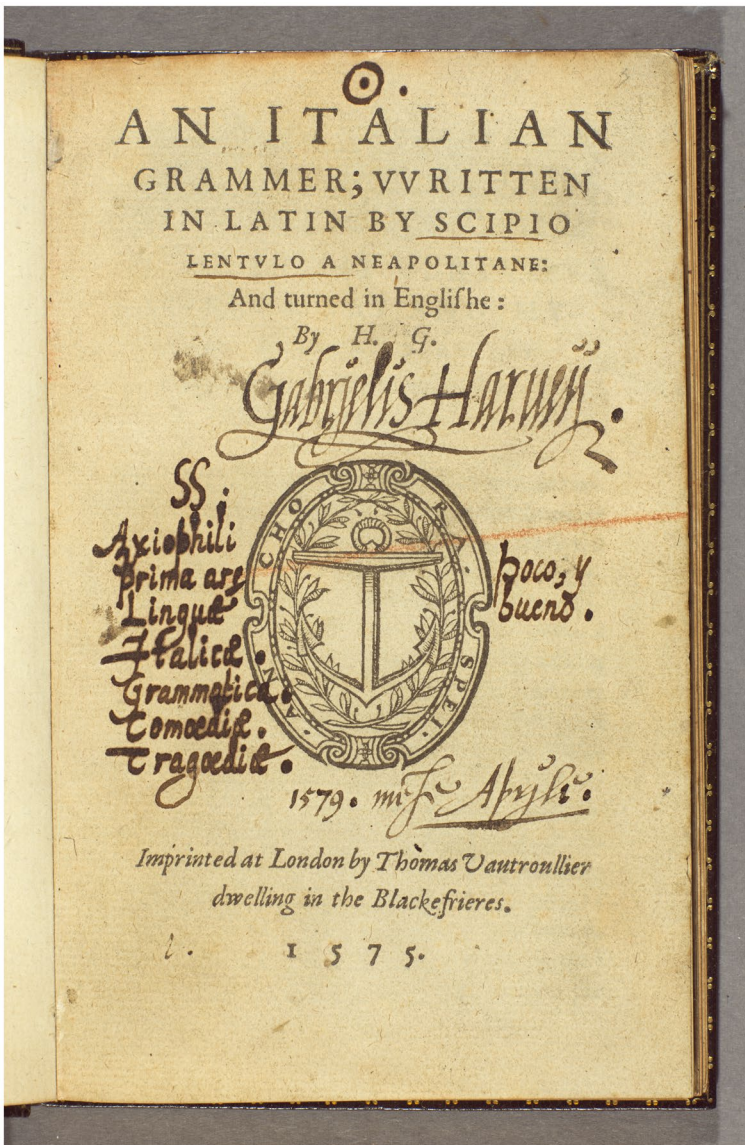


Fig. 2 Title-page of Harvey's copy of Lentulo's Italian grammar, which also served as the title-page of his *Sammelband*: The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, shelfmark 62184, sig. [*i]r.

was no doubt driven by the aim of deepening his linguistic as well as cultural fluency. A Terence in Italian held an obvious appeal in this context, for his comedies were traditionally considered an arsenal of conversational idioms

for Latin learners: Harvey was repurposing Terence as ‘a notable Dictionarie’ for Italian.¹⁹ He must have sought out Dolce’s renditions of classical tragedy for similar reasons. The Aldine press’ endorsement recommended the Terence translation, Harvey says; but he will have been drawn to the tragedies by Dolce’s fame, and perhaps also his link to Aretino.²⁰ Yet one thing does not fit the *Sammelband*’s Italianophile profile: the inclusion of Euripides in Erasmus’ Latin. This surprising fact invites closer attention.

We might begin by situating Harvey’s reading of the two Euripidean dramas. When he reads Dolce’s *Medea*, he seems unaware that it is based on Euripides, remarking simply that unlike Dolce’s *Thieste*, it is not based on Seneca.²¹ This is telling because the *Medea* was among Euripides’ better-known plays. Harvey’s exposure to Greek tragedy appears to have been relatively limited up to this point in his very full reading life. But his interest in modern versions of Greek tragedy was clearly enlivened around the time of the *Sammelband*. Harvey admired George Gascoigne’s and Francis Kinwelmersh’s *Jocasta*, which he read alongside Gascoigne’s version of Lodovico Ariosto’s comedy *Supposes* in the latter’s collected *Posies*, bought in 1577.²² *Jocasta* seems enmeshed with his reading of the classical tragedies in the composite collection. In his Euripides, he describes ‘Euripidis *Jocasta* apud Gascoignum’ (‘Euripides’ *Jocasta* in Gascoigne’s version’) as ‘Summa fere Tragoediarum omnium’ (‘Almost a *summa* of all tragedies’), a comment he also writes on the play’s own opening page.²³ A further note in his Dolce suggests that ‘summa’ means something like ‘pandect’ or ‘digest’, for *Jocasta* is presented here as a compendium of the Theban tragic saga: ‘La Giocasta d’Euripide, Dolce, et Gascoigno. Senecae, et Statij Thebais. Item Senecae Oedipus. Quasi Synopsis Tragoediarum omnium.’ (‘The *Jocasta* of Euripides, Dolce, and Gascoigne. Seneca’s and Statius’ *Thebaid*. Also Seneca’s *Oedipus*. Almost a conspectus of all tragedies.’)²⁴ The printed *Jocasta* was presented as ‘A Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides’, without mention of Dolce. But where the ‘Prologo’ to Dolce’s *Medea* describes it as ‘freshly attired by the same man who gave you *Giocasta*, and the others’ (‘nouamente/ Con nuoui panni da colui uestita,/ Che gia ui diede la *Giocasta* e l’altre’), Harvey noted in the margin: ‘Gascoigne’s *Jocasta*. From Euripides, or Dolce.’²⁵ Perhaps it was this reference that made him aware of the Dolce as a possible source for the English play and intrigued by its overlaps with other texts. Harvey is interested in drawing up a Theban

¹⁹ Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 140.

²⁰ GH Lentulo, sig. Liiv (n.p.). On Dolce as tragedian, see Stefano Giazzone, *Venezia in coturno: Lodovico Dolce tragediografo (1543–1557)* (Rome: Aracne, 2011), esp. 9–40 (overview) and 11 (link to Aretino).

²¹ GH Dolce *Medea*, 44v.

²² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mal. 792(1) (= George Gascoigne, *The Posies* (London: [H. Bynnenman] for Richard Smith, 1575)), ‘Hearbes’, 69–128; hereafter GH Gascoigne.

²³ GH Euripides, sig. πiiv; GH Gascoigne, 69.

²⁴ GH Dolce *Medea*, [1v]. (Seneca’s *Thebaid* is another name for his *Phoenissae*.)

²⁵ GH Dolce *Medea*, [2v].

archive or catalogue, not in sifting precise borrowings across these works. In fact, nothing in his notes indicates that he sought out Dolce's *Giocasta*, and he is notably hazy as to the exact nature of the tragedy's Greek lineage, identifying its source as the phantom play Euripides' *Jocasta*. This confirms the impression of a casual grip on the corpus of Attic tragedy when he encountered these plays, perhaps explaining Sophocles' absence from his Theban archive. However, a trail of related comments in his Gascoigne, Euripides, and Dolce tell us that he accessed the Latin *Antigone* of Thomas Watson soon after its 1581 publication, while it was still 'novissime edita' ('newly out'), and that he came to rate it very highly. All these remarks are either lone-standing or entered below others on the pages where they are found, and one is inscribed vertically – indicative of a late stage in the reading journey.²⁶ The composite collection, then, spurred Harvey to explore classical tragedy in translation, not only in Italian but also in English and Latin, and to get to grips especially with Athenian tragedy in this way, more deeply than he had done before.

All this tells us something valuable about the reading of Greek in England. Harvey's Greek literacy in 1579 is not in question. Six years earlier, aged twenty, he had been elected to the Greek lectureship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and concluded his inaugural oration with the uncompromising motto: 'Graecae non potest legere: ergo Asinus est, ergo ἀναλφάβητος est: ergo Carpentarij similis est.' ('If you cannot read the Greek texts, you are an ass, illiterate, no better than a coachman.')

²⁷ Yet, interestingly, he warned the tyros under his guidance that though they should seek to read the Greek poets, especially Euripides and Homer, he himself would be teaching them the orators, because walking needs to come before skipping and dancing.²⁸ By sketching the context of his own reading range as he made these remarks, the *Sammelband* gives us a rare, fine-grain sense of the permutations of linguistic proficiency and reading experience within Greek learning at university. Recent scholarship has broken with a long tendency to ignore university curricula that point to extensive teaching of Greek literature, including poetry, in sixteenth-century England.²⁹ But Harvey's lack of familiarity with individual Greek tragedies even as he taught Demosthenes suggests that those who

²⁶ GH Gascoigne, 70; GH Euripides, title-page and sig. i^v; GH Dolce, *Medea* [1^v] and *Thieste* [1^v]. Together they suggest that Harvey did not see the *Antigone* in an early performance, as has traditionally been inferred from the note in his Gascoigne alone (see e.g. Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, Vol. II: 1567–1589 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 277). Harvey mentions the printed edition in his Euripides, and in his Dolce, first omits *Antigone* from his 'Theban archive' and then ascribes the translation to the wrong Thomas Watson, both unlikely if he had watched an early performance.

²⁷ Gabriel Harvey, 'De discenda Graeca lingua [orationes]', in *Lexicon Graecolatinitum*, (London: Henry Bynnemman, 1581), sigs Nnnnvir–Oooooir, sig. Nnnn viir.

²⁸ *Ibid.* sig. Ooov.

²⁹ See Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2015), 433–58 and Tania Demetriou and Tanya Pollard, 'Homer, Greek Tragedy, and the Early Modern Stage: An Introduction', in *Homer, Greek Tragedy, and the Early Modern Stage*, ed. T. Demetriou and T. Pollard (= *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9 (2017)), 1–35.

learned Greek did not emerge with equal exposure to all the authors they encountered in their studies. Which texts one became immersed in, and when, was determined by happenstance – whether one was taught by a Harvey or someone with contrasting pedagogical theories – and by one's own evolving career. But interest in Greek authors was not coterminous with apprenticeship as a Greek scholar. When Harvey delves into Euripides and Sophocles, he does so in translation and out of modern concerns: as a related project to his self-training in Italian and inspired by the accomplished, erudite drama of English and Italian contemporaries.

His trajectory pivots on the artefact that is the composite collection, in a way that adds much to our understanding of his reading practices. In their landmark essay, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine demonstrated that in the 1580s, Harvey read his Livy together with certain other volumes in which they find 'persistent echoing of sentiments from one book to another; cross-referencing of one of these authors in the margins of another'.³⁰ Struck by the '*cohesiveness*' in the reading, the 'sense of the grouped volumes as cohering around a project', they proposed the bookwheel as a technology that enables and visually embodies this project-centred reading.³¹ The project, for them, is action-oriented. The composite volume makes it possible to build on these findings. It is one of several known Harvey *Sammelbände*, at least some of which contain strong evidence of grouped and coherent reading within them.³² It is also connected to the reading of certain other books: Gascoigne's *Posies*, containing the Italian-inspired comedy *Supposes* and the Italo-Greek tragedy *Jocasta*; and Watson's *Antigone*. A specific, action-gearred project – learning Italian – does, of course, animate the making and reading of Harvey's nonce collection. But the full constellation of texts inside and around it is underwritten by the linked but also distinct exploration of classical drama in translation. A crucial though overlooked aspect of Jardine and Grafton's conclusions is the significance of 'occasion' in the bookwheel-model of reading. Each time Harvey read his Livy, different intellectual possibilities flourished into being, through the links between Livy and different groups of texts; these possibilities became imprinted in the marginalia that connect those texts. Our cluster of texts outlines a similarly dynamic occasion, within which the project of mining Italian plays for 'pith[y]' conversation evolves. The interest in classical

³⁰ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy", *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78, 51. Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1996), 68–71 also insists on the intertextuality of Harvey's annotations, but in more general terms.

³¹ See Jardine and Grafton, 45–51.

³² E.g. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Old Library, Lect 26, on which see Eleanor Relle, 'New Marginalia and Poems of Gabriel Harvey', *Review of English Studies*, 23 (1972), 401–16. Seven books in the Huntington (49490, 53922, 53880, 56972, 56973, 56974, 60231), linked to Harvey's study of French and Spanish, came from another *Sammelband*; see Caroline B. Bourland, 'Gabriel Harvey and the Modern Languages', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4 (1940), 85–106, 85–6 and Boutcher, 52. This was sold by Sotheby's alongside Harvey's Euripides on 5 November 1918 (Lot 313), still in its original binding.

drama stops being merely secondary as soon as Harvey appends Erasmus's Latin Euripides; and it sharpens, in the process of reading, into an excited discovery of Greek tragedy in translation. Full of political hopes, Harvey skipped and danced down an Italian path that led him excursively to Greek tragedy.

READING THE TRAGEDIES

Harvey's *Sammelband* reveals a desire to understand comedy and tragedy in a comprehensive way. Harvey writes of its four tragedies: 'Hae quatuor Tragoediae, instar omnium Tragoediarum pro tempore: praesertim cum reliquarum non suppetit copia.' ('These four Tragedies represent all tragedies for now; chiefly since not many others are at hand.')

³³ The complete works of Terence, on the other hand, are declared 'Quasi Synopsis omnium Mundi Comoediarum.' ('Like a conspectus of all the comedies of the world.')³⁴ 'Synopsis' recalls his view of *Jocasta*. Harvey is evidently keen to take the particular as a summation of the general in the domain of drama. In his Euripides, he rationalises this impulse: 'Ut fere foeminas, sic Comoedias, et Tragoedias; qui vnam omni modo nouit, Omnes nouit quodam modo.' (sig. πvir: 'As with women, so with comedies and tragedies: he who knows one in every way, knows all of them in some way.')There is more to his comment than meets the eye, for it echoes Terence's well-known words on Menander: 'Menander wrote an *Andrian Woman* and a *Perinthian Woman*; if you know one well, you know both'.³⁵ Harvey encountered the same pun on plays and their female protagonists in that quite Terentian 'Prologo' by Dolce, where he says he has given *Medea* a makeover, as he did with '*Giocasta* and the others' (feminine plural).³⁶ He repeats the literary critical conclusion he draws from these comments, though without its gendered idiom, a few pages on: 'Ut Comoedias, sic tragoedias; qui tres, aut quatuor intime nouit, nouit fere omnes. Tanti ualet hic aureus libellus.' (sig. πviiv: 'As with comedies, so with tragedies: he who knows three or four very well, almost knows them all. Such is the value of this golden book.')Abstracting or comprehending drama is, then, with the blessing of the dramatists themselves, an overt ambition of his *Sammelband*, or 'golden book'.

Harvey is not often thought of as an appreciative reader of plays.³⁷ Yet his 'golden book' shows that his exposure to drama was deliberate and extensive.

³³ GH Dolce *Medea*, [1v].

³⁴ GH Terence, title-page.

³⁵ *Andria*, Prologus, ll. 9–10: 'Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam./ qui utramvis recte norit ambas noverit'. My thanks to Leon Grek for this suggestion.

³⁶ On Terentian elements in the *Prologo*, see Roberta Delli Priscoli, 'La *Medea* di Ludovico Dolce fra tradizione e innovazione', in B. Alfonzetti, et al. (eds) *I cantieri dell'italianistica*, (Rome: Adi, 2014), 1–9, 2.

³⁷ With the exception of András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 37–88: see below.

In the case of the tragedies, it was also systematically close. Harvey seems to have read most of the dramas in the *Sammelband* attentively, but he read the tragedies interactively, pen-in-hand. Many pages in the Euripides volume have marks by him in at least two distinct inks, suggesting that he went over it more than once in this way. We might hazard a guess about one re-reading. Three consecutive notes in *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Fig. 3) compare the ‘high-minded and glorious maiden’ Iphigenia, with ‘the noble spirit of Polyxena in *Hecuba*, above’ and the ‘heroic’ or ‘man-like maiden’ Antigone of Sophocles (sigs hiiiiv: ‘magnanima and gloriosa virgo’; ‘generosus Polyxenae spiritus. Supra in *Hecuba*’; hivv: ‘Talis etiam virago, Antigone Sophoclis’). Since the comments on Watson’s *Antigone* are late, and since they often compare Watson’s Sophocles with Erasmus’ Euripides, it is likely that Harvey re-read these Euripides plays alongside *Antigone*. It is difficult to speculate further about the chronology of the annotations, especially as most of them are non-verbal. Where layers of annotation are visible, however, they tend to complement each other, as though the later reading continues where the earlier one left off. On the pages just mentioned, notings in the same darker ink as these remarks reinforce, extend, or comment on a layer of marks in a lighter brown ink. This makes it meaningful to talk about Harvey’s approach to the tragedies in unified terms. His copious markings in them include underlining, vertical scoring, assorted symbols of emphasis such as gnomic marks, brackets, double slashes, double ss, crosses in the margins or above individual words, and certain thematically coded signs. This ‘elaborate system’ of annotation was described by Harold Wilson, who believed that ‘written comments’ alone give a very partial view of Harvey as reader.³⁸ Harvey’s digital editors have heeded Wilson’s warning,³⁹ but studies of his books have generally not tried to draw conclusions from this profusion of signs. In these texts, I believe, Harvey’s signs yield a picture with considerable coherence and legibility. Like sedimentary structures, or the traces of ripples on sand, these markings betray patterns of attention, and show Harvey responding, *currente calamo*, to various aspects of tragedy.

Harvey’s comments on the young women show that, like other contemporaries, he was powerfully struck by what Tanya Pollard calls ‘the fierce and proactive female figures’ of the Greek tragic canon.⁴⁰ But in contrast to the early modern responses to tragedy charted by Pollard and Blair Hoxby, he seems at most to be only vaguely interested in the emotions of tragedy, in ‘how much [tragedy] can move’, as Philip Sidney put it.⁴¹ He does not confess, like Philip

³⁸ Harold S. Wilson, ‘Gabriel Harvey’s Method of Annotating his Books’, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 2 (1948), 344–61, 352–9.

³⁹ See <<https://archaeologyofreading.org/>>, accessed 23 January 2021.

⁴⁰ Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 7 and *passim*; see also Diane Purkiss (ed.), *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), xxx.

⁴¹ Quoted in Pollard, 8. See *ibid.*, 7–14 and Blair Hoxby, *What was Tragedy? Theory and the Early Modern Canon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 57–108, for affective sympathy and the passions in early modern views of tragedy.

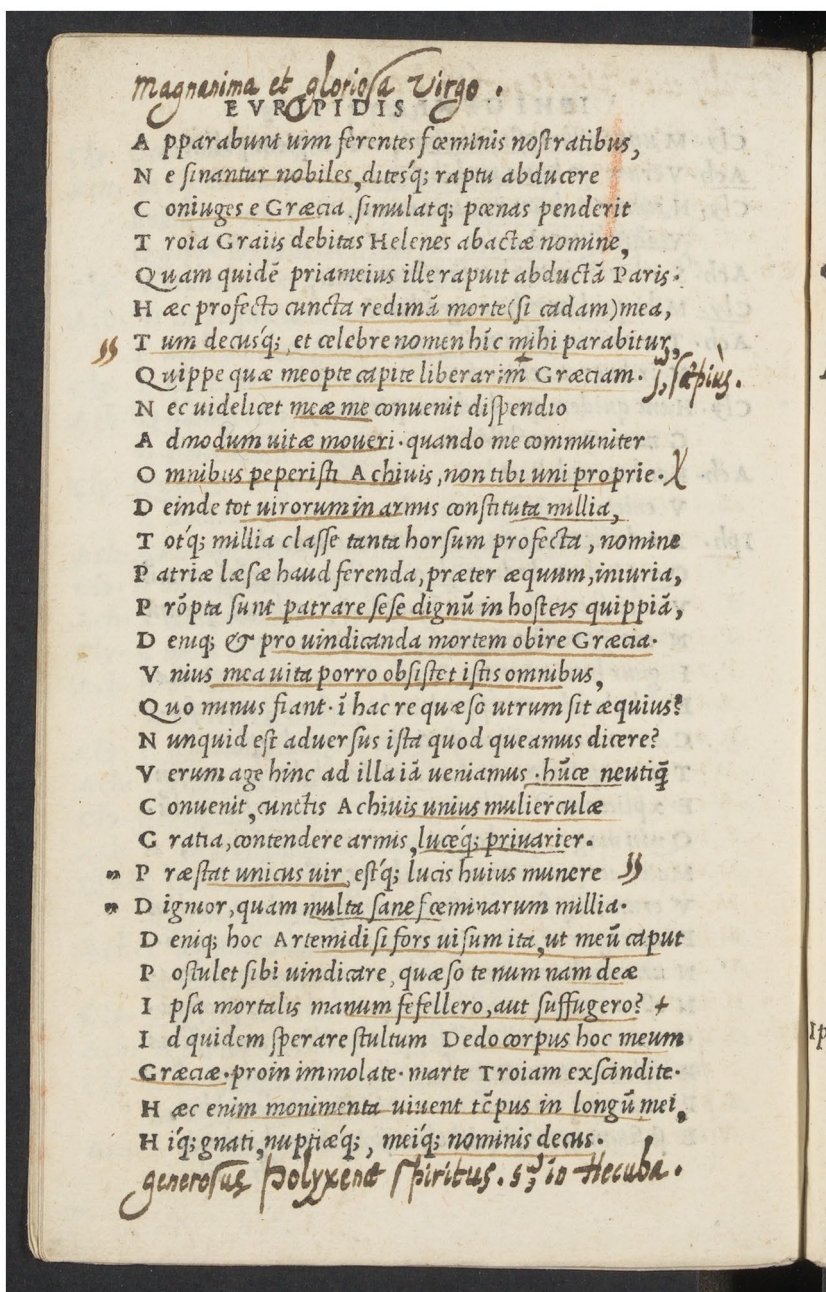


Fig. 3 Page from Harvey's copy of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, showing two of his comments on the young heroines of Greek tragedy: Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelfmark *EC. H2623.Zz507e, sig. hiiiv.

Melanchthon: 'I often shudder in my entire body while merely reading the tragedies of Sophocles or Euripides'.⁴² Nor is he drawn, like him, to tragedy's moral exempla. But he does share Melanchthon's admiration for its universe of eloquence in 'words and gestures'.⁴³ Harvey highlights striking phrases, descriptions, and sagacious or thought-provoking nuggets; the noting of such *sententiae* is often associated with the reading of tragedy.⁴⁴ He is at least as absorbed by Euripides' great rhetorical set-pieces. The moment Iphigenia embraces her sacrifice, which elicits his praise, is an example. Harvey's dense marking shows that he is vividly interested in the specific reasons she gives for having arrived at her decision: the sailing of a thousand ships depends on her ('ex '+' me mille cursus nauium 'SS' / Pendet'); she was born for the benefit of all the Achaeans ('Omnibus peperisti Achiuis'), not just her family; the Achaeans should not fight over her sacrifice, because a man's life is worth more than a woman's ('Praestat unicus uir ... 'SS'); in any case, does one fool or evade a goddess? ('deae/ ... manum fefellerō, aut suffugero? '+'').⁴⁵ Most resoundingly, she looks to the 'glory ... [that] lies in store for me, for having freed Greece with my own life' ('SS' ... celebre nomen hic mihi parabitur/ Quippe quae meopte capite liberarim '+' Graeciam'), and celebrates the value of the expedition, proportional to the superiority of Greek liberty over the servility native to barbarians:

'{'Denique aequum est nos Achiuos, imperare barbaris 'SS'

'{'Mater; haud contra Pelasgis imperare barbaros

„Quippe nata est seruituti '+' barbarorum natio;

„Caeterum Graium genus natura statuit liberum. '+' (sig. hiiiir)

('{'Finally, it is right, mother, for us Achaeans to rule over barbarians, and not the opposite, for barbarians to rule over Pelasgians'}', „since barbarian people were born for slavery '+' , „whereas nature made the Greek race free. '+')

With his repertory of emphasis-marks, Harvey anatomises in a similarly admiring way her mother's speech to Agamemnon after discovering his dire plans. He notes how, to dissuade him, she reminds him of her forced

⁴² Philipp Melanchthon, 'Epistola ... de legendis Tragoediis et Comoediis [1545]', in C. G. Bretschneider (ed.), *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Vol. 5 (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke, 1838), 567–72, 567. On Melanchthon's view of tragedy, see Russ Leo, *Tragedy as Philosophy in the Reformation World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 22–9.

⁴³ Melanchthon, 568.

⁴⁴ See Kiséry, 63–4; Leo, 19, 25; Robert S. Miola, 'Lost and Found in Translation: Early Modern Reception of *Oedipus at Colonus*', in *Oedipus at Colonus and 'King Lear': Classical and Early Modern Intersections*, ed. S. Bigliuzzi (= *Skenè*, Supplement 1:2 (2019)), 203–26, 204–10; and most comprehensively, Carla Suthren, 'Translating Commonplace Marks in Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta*', in *Classical Tragedy Translated in Early Modern England*, ed. K. Heavey (= *Translation and Literature*, 29 (2020)), 59–84.

⁴⁵ GH Euripides, sigs hiiiir–v. Harvey's comments and symbols are placed within '' to distinguish them from the printed text where necessary.

marriage, details her impeccable behaviour as a wife despite this, and asks if it is just that she should, in return, pay the price of a bad wife, Helen, with her children's death (sigs gvr-viv). He observes how she warns Agamemnon of the grief she will nurse, and that he may find his current attitude toward his family reciprocated in future, a justification, as Harvey comments, 'a pari' ('by analogy'). Of the speech as a whole, he says: 'argutè singula' (sig. gv: 'each point astutely [made]'). He has a similar comment in *Hecuba*, where the title-heroine defends the justice of her revenge in a trial before Agamemnon. As she demolishes Polymestor's claims one by one, Harvey says: 'argutè, et peritè Hecuba ad singula' (sig. cvir: 'Hecuba answers each point astutely and skilfully'). His interest in these Greek tragic women, then, relates not to their suffering, but to the suppleness of their ethical deliberations and their riveting forensic acumen: to their brilliance as orators.

Elsewhere, his focus is more illocutionary than oratorical. Numerous annotations pick up on the fact that what is said is deceitful, tendentious or ironic. Polymestor's offer to help the distressed Hecuba – monstrously disingenuous, since he has murdered her last-surviving son – is annotated with the symbol for Mercury [☿], which is Harvey's marker for eloquence or deceit. Hecuba's replies, flattering, but dripping with murderous intent, are marked up with a sign resembling a Greek 'χ', which Harvey uses to indicate actual or imagined injury, violence, or misfortune (sigs ciir-v).⁴⁶ In *Medea*, he attends to the title-heroine's dissembling mildness towards Creon, and his wary reply: 'Tanto piu temo l'animo, ch'ascondi, χ' / 'Quanto piu dolci son le tue parole.' (15r-v: 'The sweeter your words, the more I fear the mind you hide within you.' χ'') Later, he enters a Mercury symbol next to Jason's claim that he has done Medea more good by bringing her to civilised Greece than she did by saving his life – exemplary of the evil sophistry she promptly accuses him of (20r). In all these cases, he is responding to dramatic texture: the clash between different perspectives and knowledges. He is consistently drawn to complexity of this kind. He follows, for instance, the sequence in which Clytemnestra addresses Achilles in the belief that he is soon to be her son-in-law, while he is entirely ignorant that she has been thus tricked; indeed his copious annotation of the play's argument marks out this event with striking prominence (sigs fiiiiv-vr, cviiiv).

He is also alive to how the dramatic world's mores impinge on the interactions. He is interested in the overfamiliarity of Clytemnestra's address, offering the hero her right hand, and his embarrassed sense that it is indecorous to chat to women, let alone take their right hand. Harvey is attentive to gestures throughout the tragedies. In *Thieste*, he marks up the intense sequence where the returning Thieste tries to 'kiss' Atreo's 'sacred knees' (16r: 'baciarò

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the 'χ' features ubiquitously in the tragedies but is used sparsely elsewhere. Wilson does not consider it a symbol, and the transcriptions in 'Archaeology of Reading' conflate it with nondescript 'x' marks used by Harvey for emphasis, but its shape and signification are clearly distinct.

queste ginocchia pie^{SS}) in submission, and Atreo, in a charade of reconciliation, bids him embrace instead like a brother: ‘con le braccia tue mi cingi il collo,’ / si come parimente io cingo il tuo; / E insieme bacia me, com’io te bacio.’ (‘put your arms around my neck,’ as I put mine, too, around yours, and kiss me as I kiss you.’) Atreo then turns to his nephews and, eyeing them unnervingly, says darkly that he sees their father’s face, eyes, look, and expression in theirs, and kisses their mouths, in deictic language that Harvey underlines. Gestures signifying equality or submission also draw his attention in *Medea*, where he notes that the children kiss Jason’s hand to beg him not to abandon them, and he kisses their foreheads to show his love (26v); or that Aegeus greets Medea with an embrace (27v), and she throws herself at his feet (28r) to beg his protection. In *Hecuba*, he follows the heroine’s body language as she takes the momentous step of supplicating the enemy Agamemnon for help, grasping his knees and right hand: “SS’... per genua supplico tibi,/ Tuamque malam, & auspiciatam dexteram.” (sig. bvir: “SS’... I implore you by your knees and by your evil and auspicious right hand.”)

Harvey’s observations on gesture add up to a larger picture: a template for reading the action of classical tragedy which is partly rhetorical and partly in the sphere of ancient *Realien*. Several other larger pictures also emerge from his annotations. Harvey is a keen gatherer of miscellaneous information; but he is also someone who archives detail in catalogues, thinks in terms of category associations, and reads across grouped texts. The patterns of attention in his tragic reading are both locally probing and methodically organisational. This is clearest in the way his characteristic *signes-de-renvoi*, ‘I[nfr]^a’ and ‘S[upr]^a’, track certain recurring notions: in *Medea* and *Thieste*, the same *sententia* about revenge;⁴⁷ in *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia*, the noble spirit of the young women as seen, but also the idea that misfortune makes it shameful to look others in the eye,⁴⁸ *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia*’s praise of the art of eloquence,⁴⁹ mentions of the constellations and of the judgment of Paris;⁵⁰ and within the *Iphigenia*, references to the pure education of Achilles by Chiron and his honourable ethos,⁵¹ and the young heroine’s zealous reiterations that she is sacri-

⁴⁷ GH Dolce *Medea*, 43r: “[...]...colui/ [Ch’offende, in polue la sua offesa scriue,’ / [‘E chi offeso ne uien, la intaglia in marmo?’],” top margin: “scribit in marmore lesus. Emblema heroicum.”; cp *Thieste*, 10r: “S[upr]^a”, in *Medea* 43”.

⁴⁸ GH Euripides, sig. ciir: “O re intueri te quidem adueso pudet/ ... in malis”; cp sig. fvr: “rectis non enim posthac queo/ Te oculis tueri, quando...” “S[upr]^a/ ... indigna nimirum tuli”.

⁴⁹ GH Euripides, sig. bviir: “Ǿ” bottom margin: “I[nfr]^a, Iphigenia, eodem signo, “Ǿ”; cp gviir: “Ǿ”

⁵⁰ GH Euripides, sig. ciiiv: “*”; cp sig. diir: “* S[upr]^a, in *Hecuba*”; biiiv: “[‘Iudicataque lis in ida... [J.C.] [etc.]’]; cp diiiv: ‘arbiter quidem trium/ Fuerat deaum’, eviir: ‘chorus dearum/ Arbitria flagitabat’ S[upr]^a”.

⁵¹ GH Euripides, sigs dviir: “...Chiron finxit, et educauit”, fiir: “Chiron+” uti ne ... improbos/ „Mores malorum” discretet... „Chiron, Heroum Doctor” „Sapiens quidem educator...” SS”, fviir: “SS’ ...educatus pridem in integerrimi/ Domo uiri Chironis”, top margin: “paedia Achillis honestissima. S[upr]^a I[nfr]^a”; cp sig. giiir: “[‘Chiron pius [etc.]’, but also perhaps his honourable defence of Iphigenia in gr-v and hiiir-hiiiv.

ficing herself for Greece.⁵² These explicit cross-references are not exceptional but symptomatic of the accretive character of Harvey's annotation.

One of the most striking aspects of his marking of *Iphigenia* is the consistency with which he collects information about female behaviour. He observes that the girl expects to lead a chorus at her father's announced sacrifice, and that Clytemnestra asks about the wedding banquet for the women (sigs fv, fiiv). He follows closely a discussion in which Agamemnon incurs his wife's disapproval by suggesting that she not participate in Iphigenia's wedding because women should not mingle with soldiers; when she tells him to mind his male business while she sees to these domestic cares, Harvey references the same division of responsibilities in Xenophon's and Aristotle's treatises on household management (sig. fiiiir: 'Oeconomia Xenophontis, et Ar[istote]lis'). He sides with her even more strongly in the couple's later confrontation where she eloquently accuses Agamemnon of heinous dereliction of familial duties, as seen. He is also intrigued by gendered expectations around Iphigenia: Clytemnestra's hesitation over whether the maiden should come in person and supplicate Achilles for help, against all decorum (sig. gr); her contrasting plea to her later on, to throw such delicacy to the winds (sig. hiir); and after Iphigenia's great speech, the chorus' admiration of her 'manly heart' ('uirili pectore' SS'), the natural bent of mind that make Achilles desire her ('Rapit cupido mentis indolem tuae/ Dum spectro ... 'SS'). Harvey's comment on the 'magnanima ... virgo' is thus not a singular reaction to an arresting moment in the play, but part of a reading that is tuned into this drama's unusually precise interest in gendered interaction. In the framework of the reading occasion, this attuned, accretive reading inspires a reflection on young female heroism as a category in the tragedies.

Wilson believed that 'Harvey used his system of symbolic reference in lieu of a commonplace book; and very convenient it must have been.'⁵³ Erasmus famously advised students to annotate passages using a consistent repertory of signs, linked to headings in an ongoing notebook.⁵⁴ Commonplacing philosophies multiplied, but continued to emphasise judiciously pre-chosen heads, such as Wilson imagines Harvey's symbols corresponding to.⁵⁵ Yet notetaking varied widely in practice, and Harvey's own commonplace books suggest a different view of his annotation.⁵⁶ In his largest surviving one, he tends to

⁵² GH Euripides, sigs hiiiiv: 'meopte capite liberarim'+ 'Graeciam I[nfr]^a, saepius', 'pro uindicanda mortem obire Graecia', 'Dedo corpus hoc meum/ Graeciae', hiiiiv: 'me sinas seruare Graeciam precor,+''', hvir: 'salutem pariter, & uictoriam/ Paritura cunctae uenio genti Graeciae.'SS'', and hviiiir: '["hoc corpus pro salute patriae,/ "Proque uniuersa Graecia trado uolens.'S[upr]^a''.

⁵³ Wilson, 359.

⁵⁴ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 102.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, esp. 101–66.

⁵⁶ See Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 62–116 and Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 175–95.

collect quotations and paraphrases from one or a few sources, on particular areas of focus under the umbrella-topic of instruction on success: from examples of industrious tenacity in Demosthenes, Carneades, and Socrates, out of Valerius Maximus, to the correlation between sleeping habits and success, out of authorities ranging from the strategist Frontinus to Harvey's mother (a unique appearance).⁵⁷ These notebook 'heads' or focus-areas are not pre-chosen rubrics but observations inspired by the reading. They look like the 'Rule[s] of valu, and ... point[s] of use' that Harvey elsewhere says he would have 'continually recognised' in books and made the subject of 'perpetual meditations [and] repetitions'.⁵⁸ In another commonplace book Harvey collates observations corresponding to the marginalia in his extant Chaucer, and thoughts sparked by the book.⁵⁹ These reading notebooks suggest that we see his annotation, not in terms of a notional continuous anthology, but of discretely productive reading events, within which his notational tools and habitual categories of interest adapt and acquire different analytical functions.⁶⁰ In the tragedies, they identify questions raised by the texts, which turn into more and more composite questions that he brings to these works. His graphemes, symbols, and comments work as 'a second language float[ing] over the primary language of the work', a critical idiom.⁶¹ Once we learn to read it, we see that it translates the tragedies into discernible, critically productive units, in which local and global attention serves to probe their fictive world and their 'thought'.

THE POLITICS OF TRAGEDY

When Fulke Greville decided to hire two or three Cambridge-men to 'gather' from books for him, Francis Bacon was sceptical. 'One Man's Notes will little profit another' in general, he wrote, but this project was particularly unpromising because of the unsuitability of the notetakers: 'Notes ... must be natural, moral, Politick or Military. Of the 2 first your Gatherers may have good Judgement; but you shall have little use: of the 2 later your Use is greatest, and their Judgement least.' Of university men, Bacon wrote: "The greatest Clerks are not always the wisest men." A meer Scholar in State, or Military Matters will no more Satisfy you than Phormio did Hannibal.⁶²

⁵⁷ London, British Library, Additional MS 32494, fols 6v, 19r.

⁵⁸ Saffron Walden, Saffron Walden Museum, 1895.266.2 (= Ioannes Ramus, *Oikonomia* (Cologne: [W. Fabritius], 1570)), 7.

⁵⁹ Tania Demetriou, "'Tendre Crops" and "Flourishing Metricians": Gabriel Harvey's Chaucer', *Review of English Studies*, 71 (2020), 19–43, esp. 29–30.

⁶⁰ Cp the heads in Montaigne's annotations in his Caesar, which accrue interpretive significance as he reads on: see Francis Goyet, 'A propos de "Ces pastissages de lieux communs". (Le rôle des notes de lecture dans la genèse des *Essais*) - II', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne*, 7-8 (1987), 9–30.

⁶¹ Roland Barthes, *Critique et Vérité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 64.

⁶² Vernon F. Snow, 'Francis Bacon's Advice to Fulke Greville on Research Techniques', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1960), 369–70, 373–4.

András Kiséry is probably the first critic to suggest that imagining Harvey's tragic reading is a valuable exercise. His analysis sets the scene for his important argument that early Jacobean drama was viewed as a repository of political knowledge, in the sense of a specialised, non-academic field, as Bacon presents it. Given the context of the *Sammelband*, this claim seems entirely apt. When he delved into tragedy, Harvey aspired above all to be of use to a Hannibal, or at least a Leicester. Kiséry, however, works by inference from Harvey's comments on non-dramatic texts, only considering two notes in his Euripides, and some of his conclusions on how Harvey might have read tragic texts politically differ substantially from the picture emerging here. The linchpin of Harvey's reading, it is argued, are the 'gnomae selectae' ('choice sentences') he points to at the start of *Hecuba*, noting they are 'marked with the sign „'". Such 'gnomae', it is proposed, assimilate the style of tragedy to the maxims of political writers like Machiavelli. Harvey is imagined as reading tragedy by 'decontextualising' those 'gnomae' that yield political wisdom, and thus 'as if it were not drama at all, but source material for the "Courtiers' *Alcoran*'.⁶³

We know from his annotations on John Foord's *Synopsis Politica* that Harvey did seek out 'politicae Gnomae', and his commonplace book lends some support to the idea that this carried over into his view of tragedy.⁶⁴ Harvey read Hugh Platt's anthology *Floures of Philosophy*, alongside Erasmus' views on why the pithy sayings of illustrious figures are appropriate for the education of princes. He copied out extracts from both, but split Platt's excerpts into three sections: a general one, one on 'good gououernement', and a third on 'discretion'.⁶⁵ At the top of this last section, he wrote 'Seneca', perhaps identifying Seneca as the source of some of the sayings, and certainly showing that he saw his work as a potential 'Courtiers' *Alcoran*'. But the commonplace book also points to a completely different approach to this tragedian when it is Harvey who is doing the reading, and this chimes with the evidence of the *Sammelband*. A section on success through verbal dexterity begins with Ulysses in Seneca's *Trojan Women*. Harvey quotes him summoning his 'cunning, deceit, trickery, and everything that is Ulysses' as he prepares to investigate where Andromache has hidden her son. He then cites her vituperation of him as an 'inventor of deceit' from later, when, as he clarifies, 'her action is known, and her son's life denied' ('re cognita, et vita filii pernegata'), and Ulysses' response, with the preamble: 'And he, how hypocritically: "I wish I were allowed to show you pity?"' ('At ille quam hypocriticè? "Misereri tui utinam liceret etc."').⁶⁶ This is pragmatic and political reading, but it is not decontextualised or non-dramatic: character, tone, and situation are everything here.

⁶³ Kiséry, 62–9, 89.

⁶⁴ Saffron Walden, Saffron Walden Museum, 1895.266,1 (= John Foord, *Synopsis Politica* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1582)), title-page.

⁶⁵ BL Add. MS 32494, fols 24r–v, 25r, 25v–26r, 29r–30v.

⁶⁶ BL Add. MS 32494, fol. 14v; cp Seneca, *Trojan Women*, ll. 613–14, 750, 762–3.

Harvey adds some gnomic marks of his own in his *Sammelband*, but not in a way that is especially linked to politics. But neither these, nor his interaction with the printed ones he finds in Euripides, suggest a decontextualising impulse; they work in concert with his arsenal of emphasis tools in a reading that is context-focused and accretive. One annotation in the *Sammelband* does seem to advocate decontextualised reading, and it is this which Kiséry leans on:

Inutiliter Tragoedias legit, qui nescit philosophicas sententias, a Tyrannicis distinguere. Alia scholarum doctrina: alia regnorum disciplina. Politico opus est Iudicio, ad distinguendum prudentissimas sententias a reliquis. Nec Semper Tyrannus Barbarus: nec semper poeta, aut philosophus sapiens: solertis iudicij fuerit, non quis dicat, sed quid dicatur, respicere, et undique optima seligere.

It is not a useful reading of tragedies that does not distinguish between philosophical opinions and those pertaining to rulers [*Tyrannicis*]. The teachings of academe are one thing, the education of princes another. A statesman needs to have the judgment to pick out the wisest opinions from the rest. A barbarian is not always a tyrant, nor is it always the poet or the philosopher who is wise [or: a tyrant is not always barbaric, nor is the poet or the philosopher always wise]. A shrewd judgment will not look at who is speaking, but at what is said, and choose the best from everywhere.

The last sentence is crucial here, but disambiguation of the rest is necessary before coming to it. If, as Kiséry believes, ‘*Tyrannicis*’ corresponds to ‘tyrant’ in the pejorative sense, the annotation is focussed on tyranny: the views of tyrants are pronounced more politically useful than those of philosophers, and this is reinforced with ‘the tyrant is not always barbaric’. ‘*Tyrannicis*’, however, might be closer to the neutral sense of ‘*tyrannus*’ meaning ‘sovereign’, and thus to do with rule. This sense of the Latin word is hardly obscure: it takes up the first third of the entry for ‘*tyrannus*’ in Robert Estienne’s dictionary, featuring instances from Virgil (*Aeneid*, 7.266) and Horace (*Odes*, 3.17.9).⁶⁷ Harvey uses it thus in his Livy, when he says that the early kings of Rome were ‘civic’ (‘*ciuil[e]s*’) rather than authoritarian, because an interregnum to monarchical rule had given the senate and people a liberty that lingered as a habit: ‘Custom inclined the senate and people to freedom, and as though sovereign [*Tyranna*] over limited kings [*moderatos reges*], restrained them in its way.’⁶⁸ The word is clearly not pejoratively used here; it is concerned with the fact of authority rather than its benevolence or otherwise. In the book Harvey is reading, Erasmus seems to employ the word in a similarly

⁶⁷ *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus ... Editio secunda*, 3 vols (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1543), III, 1465r.

⁶⁸ Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library, PA6452 .A2 1555q (= Livy, *Romanae historiae principis decades tres* (Basel: Herwagen, 1555)), 11: ‘Consuetudo, altera natura, Liberum S.P.Q. animauit: et quasi Tyranna super moderatos reges, eos suo more compescuit.’

neutral way, to differentiate between Euripides' *de facto* sovereigns and formal monarchs.⁶⁹ If 'Tyrannicis' in Harvey's note is not pejorative, then it simply means those relevant to 'State', making this reflection remarkably close to Bacon's. Such a similarity would point to a shared discourse about pragmatic as opposed to scholarly reading, and indeed Harvey seems to adapt the same proverb about 'clerks', when he says that 'the poet or the philosopher' is not always the 'sapient'. With 'nec semper Tyrannus Barbarus', he could be rehabilitating the political opinions of tyrants or barbarians. But it now becomes possible to see his interest as being not in tyrants per se, but rather in tragedy's decoupling of political wisdom from its expected spokespersons. The point is not that the speakers of tragedy do not matter, but that tragedy makes characters from varied positions unpredictable holders of political wisdom. Certainly, this is the interpretation supported by his annotations.

Most of the plays Harvey read at this time do not thematise tyranny as such, but *Thieste* is a notable exception. Seneca's Atreus refers to himself as 'tyrannus', and gleefully espouses its pejorative connotations in a dialogue with a servant in Act II. Harvey followed the corresponding sequence in Dolce, though Dolce's Atreo uses 're' ('king') rather than self-identifying as 'tiranno', and the servant is promoted to a 'consigliere' ('counsellor'). Minded of the 'biasmo' ('blame') that his revenge will incur in the eyes of his people, Atreo brags that as ruler, he enjoys the benefit that his subjects have to praise ('lodar') as well as tolerate what their master ('suo Signor') does (7v). The counsellor points out that praise is not approval: 'The same fear that forces them to praise a deed unworthy of praise, drives them also to hate it' (8r: 'La medesima paura, che'l costringe/ A lodar opra, che non merta lode,/ Similmente ad odiar quello accende'). In one of very few comments on the Italian tragedies, Harvey

⁶⁹ On the same page as Harvey's note, the character list for *Hecuba* describes Polymestor as 'Thracum tyrannus' ('*tyrannus* of the Thracians'), where the Greek paratexts in the 1503 *editio princeps* only give his name. Erasmus applies the title consistently to him, rendering 'ἄνδρι Θρηκί' (l. 19, 'Thracian man'), 'Θρηκῆς ἄνακτι' (l. 856, 'the king of Thrace'), and 'Θράκης ἥς Πολυμήστωρ ἥρχεν' (narrative *hypothesis*, 'Thrace, ruled by Polymestor') as 'Tyrannum Thraca', 'tyranno thracio', and 'Thracum tyrannus' respectively (GH Euripides, sigs air, bviii, πivv). Polymestor strikes one as unlikely to be very nice to his subjects, but this is more than we know. The designation 'tyrannus' probably reflects that his is a more rudimentary sovereignty than a formal monarchy, since he rules, as observed in Charles Segal, 'Violence and the Other: Greek, Female, and Barbarian in Euripides' *Hecuba*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 120 (1990), 109–31, 109, not over a city, but a land ('glebam' (sig. air), 'tellurem' (sig. bviv)), and leads 'a fierce people with warlike arms' ('Armīs ferocem Martiis gentem' (sig. air)). Erasmus' one other use of the Latin word supports this interpretation because it is not pejorative. With one exception, he converts the Greek 'τῶρανος', which is used interchangeably with 'ἄναξ' ('king') in fifth-century tragedy, to 'rex' ('king') (see *Hecuba*, ll. 55, 366, 809, 816 and GH Euripides, sigs aiir, avii, bviii). The exception is in *Iphigenia*, where the chorus of women from Chalcis say they sympathise with Agamemnon as much as befits 'a foreign woman to lament the misfortunes of *tyrannōn*' (l. 470) and this is rendered as 'tyrannorum' (GH Euripides, sig. ciiiir). What these women are doing in Aulis has always presented a critical puzzle, and it may be that Erasmus deduced they were Agamemnon's war captives, and therefore now *de facto* under his rule. (See Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, trans. and ed. C. Collard and J. Morwood, 2 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2017), I, 30–1 on the chorus.) In these texts, then, Erasmus' uses of 'tyrannus' seem to be technical and neutral, and Harvey noticed them: he underscored the line from *Iphigenia*, and in *Hecuba*, next to Polymestor's first speech, he disambiguated the speech-heading 'Po.' from the previous 'Po.' for Polyxena by adding 'tyrannus' (GH Euripides, sig. civ).

remarks: ‘astutely’ (‘argutamentè’). Atreo is less impressed. It is not for subjects, he says, to praise rulers sincerely, for the definition of rule is that it makes them do what they don’t want to do. If kings were constrained always to do the honourable thing, they would not be kings but servants: ‘Dou’altro piu non lice, che l’honesto, / Regno dir non si dee, ma seruitute’ (8r). It is hard to imagine Harvey finding much prudence in these despotic views, a ‘depiction of tyranny at its most cynical and arbitrary’.⁷⁰ But there is certainly a lot of wisdom in the dialogue sparked by the ‘consigliere’s advice, and this ‘politick’ wisdom lends itself to comparison with that of the celebrated philosophical chorus that follows. Here, a true king is defined as the wise man who is sufficient in himself and invulnerable to fortune, unlike those precariously enriched by wealth, authority, and false friends. The lyric ends with a wish for a quiet life, ‘mean fare befitting a mean estate’ (‘piccol cibo a piccol stato uguale’), and a contented death. Its reflection resembles a number of other Senecan choruses, all of which unusually employ the first person singular, sounding very much like the voice of Seneca the poet and moral philosopher.⁷¹ Its juxtaposition with the dialogue could easily have prompted Harvey to consider where political wisdom is to be found in the polyphony of drama.⁷²

On the whole, Harvey annotated *Jocasta* lightly; but he did mark up a speech in which Jocasta’s servant, sympathising with his calamity-stricken queen, expresses thoughts similar to Seneca’s chorus. The servant ponders the naivety of those who ‘meruaile’ at high status, not considering ‘The painefull toile, the great and greuous cares’ that come with it, and princes’ tragic exposure to fortune.⁷³ The speech was added by Dolce to Euripides.⁷⁴ Though he is unlikely to have worked out its precise genealogy, Harvey recognises its theme as typically Senecan. He writes ‘SS The state of princes’ and ‘Seneca saepè’ (‘Seneca frequently’) in the top margin, perhaps thinking of *Thieste*.⁷⁵ The political thinking of these two plays interlaces again in an addition grafted by Kinwelmersh onto Dolce’s speech. In the English version, these naïve people ignore not just the precarious nature of high state but ‘the charge that *Joue* hath laid / On princes, how for themselues they raigne not’; they think ‘the law must stoope to princely will, ‘+ J.C.’ / But princes frame their noble wills to lawe’.⁷⁶ These lines were appreciated by Harvey, who signalled their reference to law with ‘J.C.’ and may well have registered that it is a servant who speaks here, as in Seneca’s *Thyestes*, about the principle that monarchy needs to be consensual and legitimate, not arbitrary.

⁷⁰ Seneca, *Thyestes*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Atlanta, GA: American Philological Association, 1985), 121.

⁷¹ See *Hercules* ll.159–201; *Agamemnon* ll.57–107; *Hercules on Oeta*, ll.604–99 and *Oedipus* ll.882–910. On the use of the first person singular, see Tarrant’s commentary on *Thyestes*, l.393: ‘me’.

⁷² On Seneca as a philosopher in this period, see James Ker and Jessica Winston (eds), *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies* (London: MHRA, 2012), 9–11.

⁷³ GH Gascoigne, 78r.

⁷⁴ Lodovico Dolce, *Le Tragedie* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566): *Giocasta*, 8v–9r.

⁷⁵ GH Gascoigne, 78v.

⁷⁶ GH Gascoigne, 78v.

These two aspects of thinking about ‘princes’ are both present in *Iphigenia*, as Harvey noticed. In the opening scene, Agamemnon, commander of commanders, envies the happiness of those who have not known glory or honours. Next to this passage, highlighted by the printers with gnomic marks, Harvey noted, again: ‘Pro priuata vita, aduersus aulicam. Ut saepè Seneca.’ (sig. dii^v: ‘In favour of private life, compared with princely life. As Seneca frequently.’) When Agamemnon realises that he cannot cancel the decision to sacrifice his daughter, he again envies those of ‘obscure origins’ (sig. eiii^v: ‘generis ... obscuritas’), who are free to cry, unlike the high-born and the eminent. This moment, too, was marked up by the printers. Harvey cross-references it to the earlier one with ‘S[upr]^a’, as he does the chorus’ gnomic exclamation, ‘happy ... those who reach neither the highest fortune nor the lowest’ (sig. evv: ‘Felices quibus obtigit / Sors nec summa, nec infima’ + S[upr]^a). But he also noticed, unprompted by anything in his edition, that Erasmus’ Agamemnon speaks of his own nadir of fortune in terms of ‘necessity’. ‘Ad hoc agendum trahit necessitas’ (gviii^r: ‘Necessity drives me to this deed’), he tells Iphigenia and Clytemnestra; and again: ‘uincimur / ‘+’Necessitate, nec licet resistere’ (gviii^v: ‘I am defeated by necessity’ +, and there is no fighting it). Earlier, when he realises there is no way out, he says: ‘Necessitatis heu quod incidimus iugum?’ / ‘χ’Fortuna proh praeuertit’ (sig. eiii^v: ‘Oh, what a yoke of necessity have I fallen upon?’ ‘χ’Fortune, alas, has outstripped me...’). ‘Put[ting] on the yoke of necessity’ was Aeschylus’ metaphor for the imperatives Agamemnon submits to.⁷⁷ The echo was probably lost on Harvey, but the fact that in Euripides’ rewriting, ‘necessity’ describes a specifically political predicament was not. Agamemnon’s words to his wife and daughter continue: ‘Quantus uidetis adsit hic exercitus’ S[upr]^a (‘You see how big an army is here’ S[upr]^a). His ‘yoke of necessity’ speech is even more blatant: ‘multitudini’ S[upr]^a / ‘Seruimus’ (sig. eiii^v: ‘I am a slave to the multitude’ S[upr]^a). Harvey’s unprompted underlining and his careful cross-references show him observing the link between ‘necessity’ and the multitudinous army: Agamemnon’s dark predicament is that he needs to yield to what is required of him as their leader, at the deepest personal cost. At least one other Englishman seems to have read Euripides’ ‘necessity’ as the great burden of rule. The unusual phrase ‘yoke of necessity’ (‘iugum necessitatis’) was inscribed on a ring given to Elizabeth I in 1564–65 – a New Year’s gift from Thomas Heneage, protégé and friend of Jane Lumley’s father, to a queen who may have watched Lumley’s *Iphigenia*, and was reputed to have herself translated Euripides.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, l.218: ‘ἀνάγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον’.

⁷⁸ Jane A. Lawson (ed.), *The Elizabethan New Year’s Gift Exchanges, 1559–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 97: 64.131; cp Elizabeth’s coronation speech, where she spoke of the monarchy as a ‘burden’ she was ‘yield[ing]’ to, because she was ‘ordained to obey His appointment’ (Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. L. S. Marcus et al. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 51.) The phrase ‘yoke of necessity’ is not one of Erasmus’ *Adagia*. On Elizabeth’s Euripidean credentials, see Pollard, 21, 56.

In Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta*, the constraints and responsibilities that render the state of princes unenviable are, of course, idealised. Similarly, Atreo's refusal to recognise limits to his despotic will is unambiguously terrifying in *Thieste*. But *Iphigenia*, which carries in its veins the experience of a near-century of Athenian democracy, brings a more complex perspective. Realities of power overshadow ethical questions in Agamemnon's decision. The goddess who demands the sacrifice drops out of view for most of the play. When Agamemnon and Menelaus ponder the likely consequences of pulling back, it is the ambitious demagogue Odysseus they focus on: it is he who will exact the sacrifice by rousing the multitude (sig. evv: 'concitatis copiis'), even to violence against them. Whatever the moral calculus of the decision, 'Graium universim conglobatae copiae' (sig. evr: 'all the gathered troops of the Greeks together') will not allow it to be reversed. This stark pragmatism makes Agamemnon yield to the circumstances. Only later does he justify the decision on patriotic grounds, to Clytemnestra and Iphigenia. Achilles' position proves that Agamemnon's assessment is right. The honourable-minded hero takes on the girl's defence, but when he speaks against the decision, he is threatened with stoning by 'the entire throng of Greeks together' ('universa turba Graium '+''); to save her, he needs to take up arms against this multitude, who are swiftly mobilising under Odysseus (sig. hiir: 'dux '+'Ulysses agminis. '+'') as foreseen. Clytemnestra, then, may say accusingly that her husband 'Ignauus est, ac timidus ... / '+'', 'Nimisque pauit copias formidine '+'' (sig. g^v: 'is cowardly and fearful ... and '+'', 'too much in awe of the troops '+''), and Menelaus may claim that 'Timere non decet turbam nimis '+'' (sig. evr: 'it is unseemly to fear the multitude excessively '+''), but the events of the play bring the decision very clearly down to a choice between violence or submission to the will of the many. All this makes it is hard to feel entirely comfortable about the mechanisms which bind the ruler's actions to the will of the ruled, even if, in the end, ideology and divine intervention give Agamemnon's decision retrospective moral justification, even celebration.

Harvey was fascinated by the power dynamics in the play: he underlines every mention of the irresistible will of the troops, without exception, and often adds further emphasis marks, including gnomic marks. When Agamemnon declares himself a servant to the multitude, he writes 'supra', though this is the first appearance of the idea in this play. He was, of course, primed to notice this 'politick' problematic by *Thieste* and *Jocasta*. But I think his cross-reference is to a moment from *Hecuba*, in which the same character finds himself in a similar bind. Harvey was riveted by this part of the play. He followed, as we saw, Hecuba's supplication to Agamemnon to punish Polymestor, a man who committed a 'facinus immanissimum' ('most monstrous crime') by killing a guest-friend's child entrusted to his protection, and not even giving him burial. In another passage marked up in print as a sententia, and heavily emphasised by Harvey, Hecuba says that Polymestor has offended against 'lex', or universal law, the law that rules even the gods themselves, setting a boundary between

justice and injustice. Harvey entered 'J.C.' here, his sign for ideas of justice, but also 'LL', relating more narrowly to law (sig. bviir). Agamemnon's reply was just as fascinating to him. The king sees the rightness of her demand and 'want[s], for the sake both of the gods and of justice, to punish the impious guest for you as you say '+' ('Voloque et deorum, & aequitatis gratia,/ Poenas tibi istas hospitem impium dare '+'); but his hands are tied by the will of the troops, who see Polymestor as an ally and her as an enemy, and before whom he must not appear driven by attachment to his captive, Cassandra. He suggests that if he might help her without offending the people ('multitudinem //'), he would. Harvey, unlike the printers, was captivated by this politic plan, which he multifariously highlighted, adding in the margin: 'discretè' (Fig. 4). But to Hecuba, this is a galling irony; this man holds power, but is unfree to do what he considers right by the gods and by justice:

„Heu

„Vt nemo quispiam liber est mortalium, aut '+'

„Fortuna seruum reddit, aut pecunia,

„Aut scripta lex, aut multitudo ciuium, 'J.C.'

„Vetat suapte uiuere ex abritrio (sig. bviir)

(Oh that no mortal at all is free '+'; either fortune makes them slaves, or poverty, or written law, or the multitude of citizens 'J.C.', prevents them from living by their own free-will).

In the bottom margin, in an ink and handwriting very similar to those of his late comments on the young heroines, Harvey wrote: 'Ciuilis rex, popularis. barbara regina, libera.' ('The civic king, dependent on public opinion. The barbarian queen, free.') He latches here onto a paradox in Hecuba's word, 'liber' (1.864: 'ἐλεύθερος'). 'Freedom' is, of course, a Greek political ideal: as Iphigenia says with fervour, it is freedom that the Achaeans set out to defend against the 'barbarians', to whom slavish submission to tyrants is native. Harvey noted the numerous occasions when Trojans are inscribed as barbarians in that play's patriotic discourse (sigs eiir, gviiir-v, hiiir-v) and that they are also referred to as barbarians in *Hecuba* (sig. aviir). In this play, however, he registers that the heroine may be a 'barbarian queen', but her description of the accountable king Agamemnon as a slave to the many is anything but dismissible as the slogan of tyrants. Modern readings see here an ironic perspective on the 'competing demands of individual liberty and majority rule under a democratic system.'⁷⁹ But there is no sign that Harvey linked the monarchical polities of Greek tragedy to Athenian democracy. What he saw was an 'astute'

⁷⁹ Euripides, *Hecuba*, ed. J. Gregory (Atlanta, GA: American Philological Association, 1999), 148.

H E C U B A .

S u ſcipio miſerans, ſupplicem ſimul manu.
 V oloq; et decorum, et æquitatis gratia,
 P ænas tibi iſtas hoſpitem in piū dare, +
 S i quo uidebis poſſe confieri modo,
 S imul ut tibiq; commodetur; nec tamen
 M e multitudo ſauore Caſſandræ ſciat
 N eceſ hanc tyranno thracio molirier.
 S cruplo illud animum turbat iniecto meum,
 Q uod illum amicum copie ducunt uirum.
 A t rursus iſtum qui peremptus eſt, ſuum
 H oſtem autumant .is ſiquidem eſt carus tibi,
 P rinatum id eſt, nec pertinet ad exercitum . +
 A d iſta noris, q̃ uolentem me quidem „
 H abes, ut ad ſim rebus adiutor tuus, „ *diſcretè.*
 O pemq; ferre promptum, et acinctum tibi;
 C ontra, pigrum, ſi offendo multitudinem. =

He „ Heu,
 „ V t nemo quiſquam liber eſt mortalium, aut + +
 „ F ortuna ſeruum reddit, aut pecunia, *J.C.*
 „ A ut ſcripta lex, aut multitudo ciuium,
 „ V etat ſuo pte uiuere ex arbitrio.
 S ed quia paues, nūmūq; multitudinē
 T ribuis, ego iſto te leuauero metu.
 = S is conſcius modo, ſiquid intendam mali
 H uic, qui peremit .cæterum adiutes nihil. +
 T antum hoc ferente, quæ feret, ſiqui interim
 E xiſtet aut tumultus, aut ſuccuſſio
 C ompeſce tu, ſtudere diſſimulans mihi. //
 P orro alia, fide, cuncta conficiam probe.
 Ag. Q ui quæſo? quid ages? num manu, cū ſis anus
 C iuilis rex, popularis. barbara regina, libera.

Fig. 4 Page from Harvey's copy of Euripides' Hecuba, where he comments on the 'civic king' Agamemnon and the 'barbarian queen' Hecuba, Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelfmark *EC.H2623.Zz507e, sig. [bviii]r.

barbarian monarch ruling out easy answers on how to marry ethics and rule. An accountable ruler may find it impossible to follow, not only a personal moral call that conflicts that of the kingdom, as in *Iphigenia*, but ethical action *tout court*. Agamemnon resorts to discretion for a way out of the impasse, but Hecuba identifies a genuinely intractable question about the ethics of rule, in terms of an ideal gifted to political philosophy by the civic Greeks.

Russ Leo observes that Hecuba's speech was marked up for commonplacing in Melanchthon and Xylander's edition, as it was in Erasmus'. He suggests that it would have taught its commonplacers that '[t]ragedy investigates necessity, and demonstrates the degree to which man is not free and the human will, ineffective.'⁸⁰ Some scholars did take this lesson from it.⁸¹ But Harvey's understanding of liberty and necessity here and elsewhere in these tragedies is political, not existential. It came to be that, because he was reading these works, precisely, not for their political *sententiae*, but for the political 'thought' that emerges when their interactions are read comparatively, and in detail. In this sense we might say that he came to understand the tragic condition itself under the sign of political wisdom. That so much political wisdom was contained in a group of works largely by Euripides would have seemed no coincidence to him.

STYLE AND POLITICS IN EURIPIDES

Added late on one of the preliminary Euripides pages that served as notebook space, is an appraisal by Harvey of Euripides' style: 'Meo tandem iudicio poteram sapientissimus, Euripides: vel ipso Sophocle, magis Atticè neruosus, et profundus. Vt Seneca latinè.' (sig. πviiiiv: 'In my view at least, the wisest of the poets is Euripides, deeper and more vigorous in Greek than even Sophocles himself. As Seneca in Latin.') On the page from Dolce with which this essay began, another late comment compares tragic styles. Out of the *Sammelband*'s 'Quattro tragedie', Harvey says he prefers 'duae Euripidis ... propter auctoris prudentissimam venam' ('the two by Euripides ... because of the author's most sagacious style'); but he also likes Watson's *Antigone*, 'propter inuentoris grauissimum stilum' ('because of its maker's most dignified style').⁸² Years later, in his Chaucer, he would speak of 'sage Euripides' and 'sententious Seneca', thinking of Euripides as Englished in *Jocasta*, a play he considered 'full of manie discreet, wise, & deep considerations.'⁸³

These judgments partly drew on Erasmus. As Carla Suthren observes, Harvey engaged attentively with the paratexts of his Euripides, where style was

⁸⁰ Leo, 28. See Euripides, *Tragoediae*, trans. P. Melanchthon and G. Xylander, ed. G. Xylander (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1558), 37.

⁸¹ See e.g. *ibid.*, 37, where Xylander adds 'Nemo liber' next to the *sententia*, and Euripides, *Poeta Tragicorum princeps*, trans. and ed. K. Stiblin (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1562), 44.

⁸² GH Dolce *Medea*, [1v].

⁸³ London, British Library Additional MS 42518, fol. 393v; GH Gascoigne, 70.

central.⁸⁴ He marked up Erasmus' description of Euripides as compact, clean-cut, and rhetorically powerful, and the comparison of his elegant plainness to the high-octane bombast of Seneca.⁸⁵ He was equally intrigued by the comparison of Euripides and Sophocles. Considering the possibility of Sophocles' authorship of *Iphigenia*, Erasmus observed that this play, compared to *Hecuba*, 'et plusculum ha-/r,,-bet candoris, & fusior est dictio' ('has a little more r,,-splendour, and is also more ample in expression'), but yet 'in the sagaciousness of its matter and its certain, almost oratorical// skill in // persuasion and dissuasion recalls more the work of Euripides' ('argumentorum densitate, quassique declamatoria//quadam//suadendi, ac dissuadendi facultate, parentem Euripidem magis refert').⁸⁶ Erasmus' views are in turn influenced by a celebrated passage in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (10.1.67-68), where he says that though some consider the 'dignity [*gravitas*], tragic grandeur, and resonance of Sophocles' [style] ... more sublime', Euripides 'is closer to oratory' and a veritable philosopher when treating of philosophical matters. To some extent, then, the 'gravissimus' Sophocles and 'sapientissimus' Euripides would be familiar to Harvey's contemporaries.

Nevertheless, there is something more going on in Harvey's description of Euripides as 'sage', 'prudenter', 'sapientissimus', 'wise', 'discreet', 'deep'. At the start of *Hecuba*, he writes: 'SS Sapientis Socratis, ut putabantur Tragoediae' (sig. ar: 'SS The tragedies of wise Socrates, as they were thought.') Various ancient sources reported Socrates as Euripides' instructor, and these were widely known to early moderns.⁸⁷ Harvey, however, was taken with the idea that Euripides' tragedies might have been co-written by the philosopher, from Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (2.5 §18). The basis for this was a clutch of loci from fifth-/fourth-century BCE Attic comedy, like the quip that Socrates 'la[id] the firewood [*phrygana*] under' Euripides' play *Phryges*. To Diogenes in the third century CE, these comic passages were serious testimonies of joint authorship, so much so that this was the second thing he said in his 'Life of Socrates'.⁸⁸ Harvey knew the 'Life' and was fascinated with the idea.⁸⁹ In his Quintilian, he wrote, next to the passage on Euripides' style: 'Euripides qui nonnullis credebatur synchronis, ipse fuisse Socrates. Usque adeo singula videbantur sapientissima. Vt etiam hodie censetur, vel a

⁸⁴ Carla Suthren, 'Shakespeare and the Renaissance Reception of Euripides', PhD Dissertation, University of York, 2018, 32-3, 38.

⁸⁵ GH Euripides, sig. πiiv-iiiir.

⁸⁶ GH Euripides, sig. dr.

⁸⁷ For example Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 15.20.4-5, Suda Lexicon s.v. 'Euripides', and the Byzantine 'Life' by Manuel Moschopoulos', which was often reproduced in early modern editions such as Euripides, *Poeta Tragicorum princeps*, 666.

⁸⁸ See Christian Wildberg, 'Socrates and Euripides', in S. Ahbel-Rappe and R. Kamtekar (eds) *A Companion to Socrates*, (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 21-35, 25-6.

⁸⁹ See BL Add. MS 32494, fol. 33r.

prudētissimis criticis' ('Euripides, who was believed by many of his contemporaries to have been Socrates himself. So excellently wise was each single thing in him thought. As is esteemed today, even by the most sagacious critics.')⁹⁰ In his oration as Greek lecturer, he recommended out of the poets, 'Euripides ... that is, perhaps Socrates and Euripides' ('Euripides ... id est fortasse Socrates, & Euripides').⁹¹ In his *Sammelband*, an annotational echo at the start of Terence's comedies proposed a parallel with the Roman comedian, who is known to have co-written with the statesman Laelius: 'Sapientis Laelii, ut putabantur, Comoediae'.⁹² The perception of Socrates' co-authorship shaped not only a particular view of Euripides' wisdom, but also an unusual, periodised understanding of Athenian drama. Harvey wrote in his Euripides:

Iam floruerant prudētissimi Attici, Pericles, Thucydides, Sophocles: iam florent Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, cum Euripides pangit Tragoedias. Nec excellentorum Atticorum ullus, vel prudentior Euripide, vel argutior, vel etiam elegantior. Nihil in eo nugarum, nihil affectationis: et tamen singula ubique cultissima. (sig. πiv)

The wisest Athenians Pericles, Thucydides, Sophocles had flourished, and Plato, Xenophon and Demosthenes were flourishing as Euripides composed his tragedies. None of the excellent Athenians is wiser than Euripides, or sharper, or indeed more elegant. Nothing in him is unnecessary, nothing strained, and yet each single thing everywhere is most refined.

Sophocles is placed here in a temporal bracket with Pericles and Thucydides, while Euripides is seen as in tune with the later culture of Plato and Xenophon, students of Socrates, and Plato's own student Demosthenes.⁹³ Harvey apparently knew that Sophocles held the generalship with Pericles and Thucydides.⁹⁴ Theirs, however, is not the golden age in his Athenian history; it is the Socratic Euripides who represents the apex, not simply of tragic style, but also of something that seems directly connected to it: Athenian 'prudētia'.

A connection between this 'prudētia' and political wisdom emerges clearly when Harvey attempts an even more ambitious cultural comparison, synthesising all the elements of his *Sammelband*. He constructs this Ramist diagram at the start of his Terence:

⁹⁰ London, British Library, C.60.1.11 (= Quintilian, *Institutionum oratoriarum libri XII* (Paris: R. Stephanus, 1542)), 524.

⁹¹ Harvey, sig. Nnnnviiv.

⁹² GH Terence, 3r.

⁹³ Harvey shows awareness of these genealogies in BL Add. MS 32494, fol. 33r.

⁹⁴ GH Euripides, sig dr. This came from the 'Life of Sophocles', reproduced in for example Sophocles, *Tragoediae*, trans. and ed. J. Lalamant (Paris: Frederic Morel, 1557), 6r.

Terentij Comoediae, post Plautum, editae Romae, et ex ingenio fori Romani.

Euripidis Tragoediae, post Sophoclem, editae Athenis, et ex ingenio Atticae Academiae.

Specula utriusque status, {ciuilis, et popularis
 {optimatis, et tyrannici. (GH Terence, 1v)

(Terence's comedies, after Plautus, produced in Rome, and out of the genius of the Roman forum.

Euripides' tragedies, after Sophocles, produced in Athens, and out of the genius of the Attic Academy.

Mirrors of each polity, {civic and of the people
 {aristocratic and monarchical.)

Terence's drama, deploying the 'ingenium' of the Roman forum, offers a perfect mirror of the republican polities it portrays, while Euripides' drama, the product of a Socratic 'ingenium', astutely represents aristocratic and monarchical ones. The 'prudence' Harvey admires in Euripides' tragedies is inseparable from political understanding and relevance.

Another idea flickers in the background here. If Euripides' 'prudence' is cut from the same cloth as Socrates', it is of a particular kind. In his commonplace book, Harvey draws a parallel between Socrates and the physician Charles Virulus, who, according to Vives, methodically sought wisdom in conversations with people from different walks of life. Harvey comments: 'Politicum, Oeconomicum, Ethicum, et pragmaticum Socratis ingenium; omnium horarum; ad omnia Quare.' ('The genius of Socrates was political, economic, moral, and pragmatic; active; turned to all causes.')

⁹⁵ An annotation in his Foord corroborates this idea of Socrates' as an active 'sapiens': Harvey makes him here a key exponent of the idea that there is no virtue that is not active in the world, no 'sapientia' that is not concerned with that which is 'utile'.⁹⁶ He is keen to find in Socrates a kindred spirit, an icon not just of philosophy, but of pragmatic wisdom, an anti-Phormio. In another annotation in this book, he writes: 'Scholastici Phormiones sibi canant, et Musis. Plato audito Socrate, qui πολιτικώτερᾳ docebat, poemata sua quaedam exussit, praefatus ex Homero: "Huc ades, o Vulcane, Platoni nunc opus est te."' ('Let scholastic Phormios sing for themselves and the Muses. Plato, having heard Socrates, whose teachings were more political, burnt certain poems of his, with this Homeric proem: "Now, come to me, oh Vulcan, now Plato needs you."')

⁹⁷ The story of Plato burning his poems after listening to Socrates comes from Diogenes (3 §5–6). Harvey may have remembered that the poems

⁹⁵ BL Add. MS 32494, fol. 13v.

⁹⁶ Saffron Walden Museum, 1895.266,1, p. 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Plato burnt were, specifically, tragedies. But in Diogenes, Plato's road-to-Damascus moment converts him from poetry to philosophy; it is Harvey who interprets the attraction of Socrates' teachings as 'political', and Plato's change of outlook as a turn from the abstract and self-pleasing to the political and pragmatic. His memory of the anecdote leaves a space in Plato's Athens for poetry to be political; perhaps this is a space that 'Euripides, or perhaps Socrates himself' is best placed to step into. Harvey's excursive discovery of Euripidean drama was energised by the possibility he might be engaging with tragic drama as authored by 'Socratica sapientia, sola pragmatica, et panurgica'.⁹⁸ And almost without noticing it, Harvey pronounced this drama wiser than the recorded philosophy of Socrates himself. Harvey's reading of this *Sammelband*, pragmatic in ambition, shrewdly and profoundly political, but also alive to the particular resources and historical contexts of drama, adds weight to those who have criticised a tendency to view early modern political and pragmatic reading as alien to the literary.⁹⁹ To understand how Harvey read tragedy 'for action' we do not need to reconceive drama as non-drama; we need to imagine Socrates, the pragmatic sage par excellence, trying his hand at writing plays.

Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, title-page.

⁹⁹ See Jennifer Richards, 'Gabriel Harvey, James VI, and the Politics of Reading Early Modern Poetry', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 303–21, Stamatakis, Demetriou, and for this discussion beyond Harvey, Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink (eds), *The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England* (= *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73: 3 (2010)).

Abstract

In 1579, Gabriel Harvey bound together in a composite collection a surprising group of texts: an Italian grammar, an Italian translation of Terence's comedies, Lodovico Dolce's Italian rifacimenti of Euripides' *Medea* and Seneca's *Thyestes*, and Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia* in Erasmus' Latin. The volume is now dispersed, but all its parts survive. This essay explores the story of this hitherto unknown artefact and what it reveals about Harvey's reading practices and his engagement with drama, especially Greek tragedy. Parsing the elaborate system of signs with which Harvey multifariously annotated these works, it argues that he read tragedies with an emphasis on situation and utterance rather than extractable sententiae, as has been suggested. Harvey probed local detail in the tragedies with attentiveness, and with an eye to recurring observations that revealed the 'thought' of these works. He was drawn especially to the political dimension of this 'thought'. Reading tragedies in juxtaposition, he became interested in their different exploration of rulers' obligation to rule by their people's consent. And he found Euripides' plays particularly endowed with political wisdom, no doubt partly because he believed that they had been co-authored by Euripides' mentor and Harvey's own icon of pragmatic wisdom, Socrates.